/66 cont./

000 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

● 884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
8C mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemãõ and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porêhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
8C on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

/68 cont./

755 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention
884 to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and
86 their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar
171 form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be
884 sure, but mandatory.

834 j) Sex life
833 The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together
837 frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, [593] however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

593 +621 important in the organization of village life as ties between male agnates, but a man's sisters prefer to stay in his faction when the village splits.

593 601 Males consider their role as sister's protector with some seriousness, and are prompt to defend her against sever mistreatment. The amity between siblings of the opposite sex is reflected in kinship usage. A man will frequently refer to his sister, despite her age, as owasimi, a term that may be translated as 'darling little female relative.' The term is used by both sexes to refer to their female children, nieces, sisters, daughters and granddaughters. There is a corresponding term for younger male kinsmen, owasiwë, but a man never uses it to refer to post-pubescent brothers, with whom he is generally reserved and whom he treats with coolness.

593 561 Brothers are close to each other, in an affective sense, only when their relative ages are considerably different. A man is indulgent to very young brothers, but as they enter into manhood, behavior toward them changes gradually to reserve and respect. Although there is no rite de passage for males, one can tell when a boy is approaching manhood; the first indication is the young man's display of anger when someone uses his name. The surest indication that a boy has entered manhood is name avoidance; when no one dares use his name in reference or address, the boy is an adult. Young men tend to be touchy and impulsive, as they are obliged to demonstrate their manhood by their ability to coerce others with threats of fierceness, and the use of

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 621 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yąnomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] [595] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be effectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 613 602 591 [622] villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kąobawä of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

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When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobïmou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*reo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hakuru*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The